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Annals - The history of "The Times".
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SOME NOTES UPON
THE HISTORY
OF
The Times

1785-1904

BY
S. V. MAKOWER

*Res est et immensi operis, ut quae . . . ab exiguis
prospecta initiis, eo creverit ut jam
magnitudine laboret sua.—LIVY.*

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*Substituted for a copy sent
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'If I desired to leave to remote posterity some memorial of existing British civilisation, I would prefer, not our docks, not our railways, not our public buildings, not even the palace in which we hold our sittings: I would prefer a file of The Times.'—BULWER LYTTON.

THIS brief outline of the history of *The Times* is based upon material previously published. The discreet custom which prohibits publication of memoirs written from inner knowledge of contemporary events, forbids also too full a discussion of the part which *The Times* has played in the history of the Victorian era. Such a degree of reticence as it has been thought necessary to observe—greatly as it might militate against the value of an exhaustive narrative—cannot seriously affect the interest of notes which are necessarily so brief that they can do little more than suggest to the reader's mind an examination of authorities, among which may be cited:—

The Civilization of Our Day, edited by JAS. SAMUELSON. *Men of Invention and Industry*, by SAMUEL SMILES. *Treatise on Printing Machinery*, by F. J. F. WILSON. *A Short History of English Printing*, by H. R. PLOMER. *The Triumph of the Printing Press*, by WALTER JERROLD. *Progress in Printing during the Victorian Era*, by J. SOUTHWARD. *The Press*, by Sir H. G. REID. *English Journalism*, by CHARLES PEABODY. *Then and Now*, by WM. A. HUNT. *The Black Friars of London*, by RAYMOND PALMER, O.P. *Early London Theatres*, by T. F. ORDISH. '*The Times*' on the American War, by Sir LESLIE STEPHEN, K.C.B. *The Punishment of Death*, by H. ROMILLY. *Report of the Parliamentary Debate on the Bill for Abolition of Capital Punishment, 1881*. *Bibliography of the Life of Charles Dickens*, by JAS. COOK. *The Life of Charles Dickens*, by JOHN FORSTER. *Life of Henry Fawcett*, by Sir LESLIE STEPHEN, K.C.B. *English Newspapers*, by H. R. FOX BOURNE.

The History of 'The Times'

I.—Early Associations

THE history of *The Times* begins with the history of Modern Europe. The first number was published in 1785 as *The Daily Universal Register*; and this name was changed to *The Times* in 1788, a year before the outbreak of the French Revolution. Belgium was then part of the Netherlands, Greece part of Turkey, Italy a confusion of states, German unity had hardly more reality in men's minds than a nursery rhyme; less than one page of a text-book told all that was known of Africa. The Young Pretender lay ill at Rome, Warren Hastings was awaiting trial, Howe was First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir William Herschel was completing his great telescope, White's *Selborne* was in the press—every month of that year was full of events so remote in modern eyes that it seems an anachronism to bring a London morning paper upon the stage in their company.

To write the full story of *The Times* in half-a-dozen volumes would be to show the extent to which a newspaper may impress its influence upon the national events which it is its function to chronicle. There would be displayed the continuous policy and the steadfast motive of a journal that from the beginning aimed at being a moral factor in the control of governments rather than a popular reflex of political intrigue. The story would begin, perhaps, with *The Times* fulminating against Napoleon the Usurper; would recall its generous enthusiasm for the revival of the spirit of Greek Independence, and its attitude towards the revolutions of 1830 and 1848; depict the amazement and humiliation of the general staffs of the armies at the audacity of its criticism on the Crimean War; cite its articles for an adequate comprehension of the Indian Mutiny, the Union of Italy, and the founding of the German Empire, and utilise its accounts of the campaigns of '66 and '70, and of the Civil War in America. It is safe to assert that no considerable historian has been able to conduct his inquiries into any epoch within the last century and a quarter without consulting the files of *The Times*. And this is not only true in regard to the great landmarks in the history of the world during the last 116 years, but also in regard to the social and domestic habits of the Anglo-Saxon race, which are minutely recorded in the pages of *The Times*; so that if we look at its files as at a history of the world, we shall see that they form a history in the most comprehensive sense of the word, covering the development of costume and of the minutest local custom, no less than the elucidation of political treaties, the narrative of campaigns, and the characterisation of leading figures. Its pages are fields of material upon which the genius of a *Stubbs*, a *Green*, a *Macaulay*, or a *Carlyle* might have exercised itself, each according to its specific historical purpose.

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Nor should it be forgotten that inasmuch as the historian of a generation not his own is condemned to live in a twilight of half-truths, the value of the contemporary record chronicling the facts which kindle his imagination cannot be exaggerated. If he tells the reader that personal vanity played no small part in Mr. Pitt's career, the reader may or may not accept the observation. But if the historian describes the costume which Mr. Pitt wore at Queen Charlotte's Drawing-Room on the 18th of May 1788, the reader cannot err in accepting the date and the fact that Mr. Pitt was attired in a neat dress of black-green and pink-figured velvet, embroidered with gold and silver spangles and wreaths of silk flowers ; and the fact and the date are to be found only in *The Times*.

That *The Times* throughout its career has played a considerable part in every national crisis will be shown later in this narrative by a few illustrations selected from the more salient episodes in the history of

of a history of the past century. But to understand how *The Times* acquired 'The Times' :

1. *The history of its influence* such unprecedented influence is to understand the growth of that power of the Press which it was the privilege of *The Times* to inaugurate, and it is with the growth of the journal
2. *The history of its own growth.* itself that this narrative is more immediately concerned, rather than with any attempt to present a final estimate of its influence.

Such an influence is indeed too subtle and too far-reaching to permit anything like ultimate valuation. A perfect engine for the distribution of all the latest forms of thought performs a task of which it is impossible to gauge the dimensions. But the observer may analyse the construction of the engine—take it to pieces, examine the parts separately, see how they fit one another, and ponder the functions they serve in the whole.

II.—The Founding of 'The Times'

So accustomed is the modern reader to handle *The Times*, so familiar is its appearance, that it hardly occurs to him to speculate about the material conditions under which it is produced. He takes its existence for granted just as he does Newton's Law of Gravitation or a maxim of the British Constitution. There it is, there it has always been—but it rarely enters into his head to inquire how it ever came there. Every one is fascinated by the notion of editors and compositors toiling through the long night amid the ceaseless hum of the printing-press while the rest of the world lies dreaming. The imagination is easily excited by the picture of a congress of experts in every department of human knowledge, sifting information from all points of the globe—information that comes daily into an office, through the gossip of the clubs, through the cable, through the wireless telegraph. But it is

The lesson to be learned from London architecture. difficult, for want of adequate knowledge, to seek closer acquaintance with the history of the building in which a journal constituting a daily encyclopædia of information is

edited and put through the press. Yet the building is more than a material fragment of the city in which it stands, and the story of Printing House Square and its site, unfamiliar as it is to the general reader, will be found to disclose historical associations no less precious than those that

appeal daily to us in the battlements of the Tower of London, or in the bricks of Lambeth and St. James's.

In an epoch of rapid architectural construction and reconstruction, when the face of London is losing many historical landmarks, and hardly a day passes but some tottering house and sickly alley disappear to give place to widened streets and sturdy buildings expressing new needs and new aspirations, two opposing sentiments are freely proclaimed by persons accustomed to observe the phenomena of their time. There are the people who say that historical associations should be preserved at almost any cost, that to destroy a building sanctified by the memory of a poet who lived there, or by an event that stirred the emotions of great and humble alike, is an irredeemable act of



PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE IN 1794.

vandalism. Others, more keenly alive, perhaps, to the spirit of their own time than to the traditions of the past, welcome any innovation that quickens their appreciation of contemporary events. And the spirit of these conflicting sentiments is reflected in the buildings of the London of to-day, which show a variety of architectural expression distinguishing it from every other capital in the world. Where else, for instance, can you measure such a distance of idea as lies between Westminster Abbey and the Hotel Cecil? The beauty of the Abbey is made more impressive than ever for the Londoner by the fact that it is at war with all but its immediate environment. The utilitarian ugliness of the hotel quickens our perception of the growing material demands of the city. Both suggest the same story from different points of view. But between such evident extremes will be found buildings that strike a more temperate architectural note than the mediævalism of the one or the

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modernity of the other. Such are a few of the club-houses in Pall Mall and Piccadilly. Such is *The Times* building in Printing House Square.

Here past and present unite in an almost impenetrable sobriety of expression. If speculation could be arrested at the sight of the thirty-five

The building and site of 'The Times' office, Printing House Square. windows in that dull red-brick front, blackened by the smoke and soot of the railway engines that cross Blackfriars Bridge, the spectator might well pass on with a sigh at the gloominess

of this densely populated city. But the very name 'Blackfriars' raises a spirit of inquiry, and in pursuit of this inquiry the strangest cycle of vicissitudes is manifested on the site now chiefly associated in our minds with a perfectly organised system of journalism. A great monastery, a famous playhouse, a treasury of herrings, a royal printer's workshop—such are the changes that the centuries have rung upon that portion of London known to-day as Blackfriars.

In 1270, the eighth year of the first Edward's reign, the Black Friars had begun to erect the new buildings of that monastery which, until the Reformation,

The history of the Black Friars. occupied the site now partly covered by the offices of *The Times* newspaper.¹ The work of the new building was delayed by opposition from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, who probably feared the neighbourhood of so powerful a religious order. But the King's will prevailed; and among other stones employed for the building were those of Baynard Castle and the Tower of Mountfitchet, the sale of which, from Robert Fitz Walter² to the Archbishop, had been licensed by the Crown in 1275. The Black Friars were held in great favour by Edward I., and the student of his reign will come across facts that give to the Printing House Square of to-day a historical significance little suspected from a more superficial inquiry.

Soon after its foundation the Blackfriars Priory assumed all the importance of a great national institution.³ Edward II. stayed in its Hospitium in 1311 and held a Parliament there. In 1443 it served as a storehouse for ordnance; in 1522 the mighty Emperor Charles V. stayed there on a visit to England; in 1523 King Henry VIII. held a Parliament known as the 'Black Parliament' within its walls. Eleven years later, on the 17th of April 1534, 'Frater Robertus Strowdylly, D.D., humillimus prior fratum predicatorum,' with the consent of his brethren, signed the submission to the Royal Supremacy.

From the vicissitudes of what other site in London can we construct a more eloquent chapter in the history of England than from that on which now

¹ A little more than half a century had passed since it had been decided to form an eighth province of the mendicant order founded at Toulouse by Dominic Gusman and incorporated by Pope Honorius III. in 1216—a province to comprise England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. The Black Friars were so called from the black cloak worn by the friars over a white tunic. Their subsequent confusion in the popular mind with the black-robed friars of St. Augustin (Bishop of Hippo), led to a change of nomenclature, and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Black Friars were known as Dominicans from the name of their founder.

² The name of Walter, curiously enough, occurs more than once in the early history of the site which, six hundred years later, became associated for more than a century with the Walter family. Dame Ida, wife of Sir 'Walter,' and daughter of Lord Ferrers of Chartesley, was buried in the church of the monastery, which has been described as 'richly furnished with ornaments and honoured by the burial of many great personages.'

³ The success of the Order in England is shown by their rapid growth; for by the year 1241 (i.e. twenty years after the first thirteen Dominican friars came to London) more than six hundred devotees had become 'Black' friars, and before 1277 there were forty of their *priories in England and Wales.*

stand the peaceful premises of *The Times*? The monastery rose under the protection of a sovereign ; flourished under his six successors for more than two and a half centuries, and at length, under the imperious will of the most masterful monarch that ever presided over the destinies of the country, succumbed to the invasion of a new world of political and religious thought. Three weeks after the friars had signified their submission, the implacable nature of the royal will was made further manifest by an order to bury in the cloister the headless corpses of two Benedictine monks, Edward Bocking and John Dearing, who had been hanged and beheaded at Tyburn with Elizabeth Barton, Holy Maid of Kent, for their share in the denunciation of the King's divorce. On the 12th of November 1538 the Prior made surrender of the 'House of Friar Preachers of the order of St. Dominic, commonly called the Blake Freers in London.'

Within twelve years fourteen leases and eighteen sales or grants were effected by the Crown to various persons. Thus in 1550 we hear the first faint note in that great symphony of industry performed to-day in the parish of Blackfriars ; and a little world of shops belonging to barbers, haberdashers, and other tradespeople replaces the mediæval world of earlier centuries. The church was closed and fell into decay. In 1544, when the Dutch were masters of the sea, it was used as a storehouse for herrings brought from Antwerp up the Thames.

Shortly after this period the Priory Church was levelled to the ground and the material was sold.¹ One might imagine that all traces of the existence of the monastery had been finally destroyed ; but in the course of excavation carried on for the purpose of rebuilding *The Times* printing office in 1855, the workmen came upon a plinth and foundation of one of the buttresses of the ancient convent church, and thus the process of reconstruction served to revivify, in the light of modern surroundings, the memory of a great past that but for this discovery might have remained little more than a written record.

With the abolition of the Priory a new epoch in the history of the site begins. The land was extra-parochial.² In the days of the monastery the Prior had had a gaol and stocks for punishing offenders ; a small township had grown up within these walls, and the right of Sanctuary, which belonged to the Blackfriars, had saved the life of many a fugitive from sword and rapier. Now all was changed ; and while the industrial side of life is seen to develop rapidly within the next half-century (*i.e.* between 1550 and 1600), the place loses its tranquillity and order, to become a dissolute and turbulent thoroughfare, in which gentleman and cutpurse, Anne Page and Doll Tearsheet move close upon one another's heels, secure from the jurisdiction of the city. We are still in an epoch when the theatre covered in with a roof was unknown, and the suppression of what were known as 'play-places'³ did much to contribute

¹ It was not until the reign of Mary that a Community of Friar preachers was re-organised in West Smithfield.

² Full jurisdiction was attained by the city over Blackfriars in 1735 after a prolonged struggle, in which no doubt the influence of the Puritanical spirit was earnestly combated by the drainatists of the Restoration and the managers of theatres.

³ The Inn-yards were often crowded with spectators watching the performances of boy companies, and the more respectable among the citizens complained frequently of the obstruction caused by the popularity of these play-places.

*Th: site of the
Blackfriars
under new
conditions.*

*Past and
Present. The
discovery in
'The Times'
office.*

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to the development of the theatre of to-day. In 1596 Burbage bought from Sir William More a freehold, consisting of a house with seven large rooms, middle stories and upper rooms. This he converted into a playhouse, the first performance¹ taking place probably in November 1598, and the last in 1642, when the theatre was finally closed in consequence of an Ordinance issued that stage plays should cease on account of the Civil War. It has been

The Blackfriars confidently asserted that Shakespeare had a share in the *Theatre*. Blackfriars Theatre, and even acted there himself, but there is no good evidence in support of the contention. The career of this playhouse was interrupted by the Plague between 1606 and 1610, when all the theatres were often closed for months in succession.

Where the friars had once prayed, the plays of Jonson, Fletcher, Massinger, and Field were now acted by candlelight; and audiences appeared in the Blackfriars playhouse in the latter years of Queen Elizabeth's reign and through the reigns of James I. and Charles I. As if to put its terrible seal on the Puritanical antagonism to the theatre associated with *The Great Fire*, the Protectorate of Cromwell, and extending into the early years of the Restoration, the Great Fire in 1666 devastated the site.

From 1667 until the present day Blackfriars has been associated with the printing-press. A year after the Great Fire, new premises known as the *Early association of Blackfriars with the history of printing*. King's Printing Office are found on the site of the theatre. Here John Bill founded and printed the *London Gazette*. John Baskett² succeeded Bill as the King's Printer. The original building of the King's Printing Office was destroyed by fire in 1737. Baskett was succeeded by Eyre and Strahan, who left the premises for a new place of business in 1770. From 1770 until 1784 the premises remained unoccupied. In 1784 the first John Walter took the deserted house for a place in which to develop his logographic press, of which an account will be found in the following chapter.

III.—'The Times' as the Pioneer of English Printing

FROM the foregoing narrative it will readily be conceded that no part of London is richer in historical associations than the site upon which now stands *The Times* office. At every step in the story we are confronted with material of the widest interest to all those whose curiosity leads them to think of Printing House Square, and that world of mystery that is conjured up by the suggestion of the printing-press. The site of *The Times* becomes a microcosm of stirring events touching life at every point. And such is the perilous fascination of the inquiry that the historian of *The Times* newspaper is tempted into paths of digression, from which it is difficult to find his way back into the high road of his more specific purpose, like a botanist who,

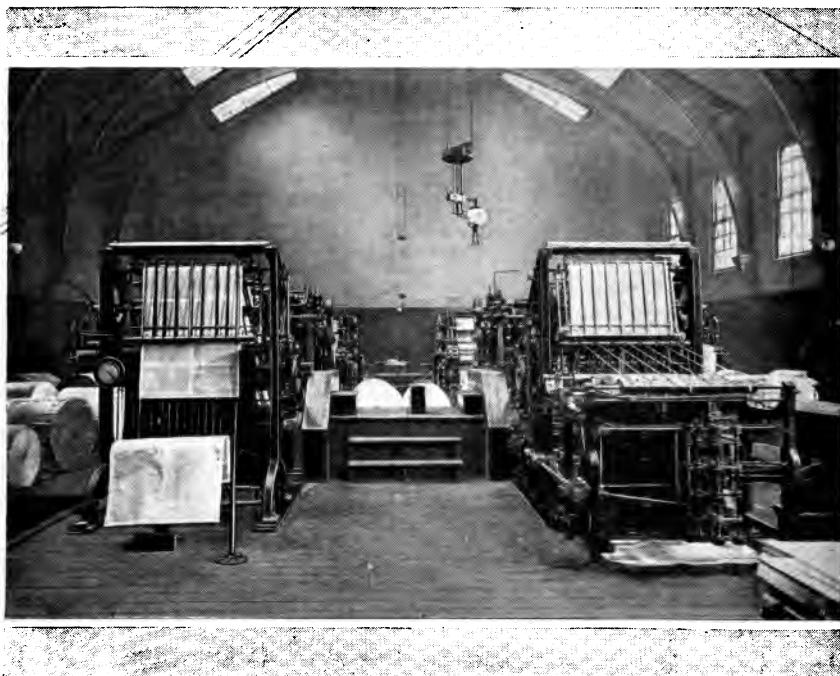
¹ Jonson's earliest extant play, 'The Case is Altered.'

² He had purchased the Bible patent, and was the printer of the famous 'Vinegar Bible,' so called from the accidental substitution of 'vinegar' for 'vineyard' in the headline of Luke, chap. xx. The edition was stigmatised, in spite of its great typographical beauty, as 'A Baskett-full of printers' errors.'

going out in search of a particular flower, finds himself lost in the contemplation of a sunset until the meadows at his feet grow dim and the coveted flower—secure in the shadows of advancing night—eludes his belated quest.

The historian, then, is bound by the exigencies of the situation to confine his mind within the walls of Printing House Square, and to narrow his curiosity to the activities pursued within its area. But while his inquiry becomes more specific the interest of it is in no way diminished; for here he will be concerned with that development of the press which is so powerful an agent in connecting the inner life of men—the life of aspirations and intellectual achievements—with its outward manifestation.

The history of printing is indeed a romance which runs like a scarlet thread



PRESS-ROOM AT PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, 1904.

through the whole fabric of our civilisation. It is in the development of industrial forces that the poetry of modern life is largely to be sought, and there is as much aesthetic emotion to be drawn from the contemplation of a perfect machine at work in the room of a great printing office as from that of a peaceful homestead in a sunlit valley. One has only to think of the metal disengaged from the bowels of the earth, of the hands which fashion it into an alphabet, of the brain which invents the machine in which it is set, of the function performed by that machine in spreading abroad the subtlest forms of an ever-growing complexity of thought, to recognise that the old division between Nature and Man was little more than a graceful fallacy passing current in a comparatively superficial age. To-day the old delusion exists no more. Man is indeed no isolated entity, but a part of Nature; and the earth cellars of the

*The development
of the
Press.*

*Fallacies in
eighteenth-cen-
tury philosophy.*

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ant with her elaborate political organisation are, after all, no more marvellous than the chambers of Printing House Square, with their editorial administration,

their network of telegraphic communications, their engines of the press.



LOGOGRAPHIC BLOCKS.

know what elaborate care and what costly expenditure are necessary in order to produce a perfectly printed page. In the case of a daily newspaper the difficulties are increased by the inevitable rapidity with which the sheets must be turned out. The blurring of a single letter spoils the look of a page. One *How 'The Times' is printed to-day.*

fact, which is true of no other newspaper in England. Every evening an entirely new set of metal type is brought to the printing offices. A single issue of the paper is printed from this type, which is then sent away and returned to the founder. But even this fact does not suffice alone to account for the superiority of a printed page of *The Times* to that of any other newspaper. Such a perfection is the result of no sudden expedient, but the fruit of a minute and elaborate study of printing, which extends from the very origin of the newspaper to the present day. To give a complete account of the whole contribution made by *The Times* would be to write a history of the Press during a century and a quarter. A few of the more salient facts may however, be stated here with advantage.

The first John Walter took premises in Printing House Square in 1784 in order to develop a system of printing whole words or parts of words instead of single letters from metal blocks. It was as a means of illustrating this mechanical device, known as the logographic process, *the history of printing.*

noteworthy at a time when the sentimental reproach made against the tendencies of the age is largely directed against the increasing preponderance of mechanical labour. One is apt to forget that the primary



THE FIRST NUMBER OF 'THE TIMES,' 1788.

impulses which more than a hundred years ago gave birth to *The Times*, the greatest engine of modern opinion, were just those impulses for industrial enterprise which have so often originated great political movements. It was



A NUMBER OF 'THE DAILY UNIVERSAL REGISTER,' 1785.

this mechanical device of John Walter that in 1785 originated *The Daily Universal Register*, a journal which was issued for three years *First number* under this name, and was then changed to *The Times and of The Times.*' *Daily Universal Register*, to avoid the confusion that the name of 'Register' caused with other publications of similar titles.

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that when *The Times* started, its hand-presses were more nearly related to the cumbrous simplicity of Caxton than to the elaborate ingenuity of the modern press. The first automatic press was invented in 1804 by Thomas Martyn, a workman in *The Times* office, who received encouragement from the proprietor's son, in spite of the unpopularity with which he was regarded by the workmen. But young Walter had to experience many difficulties before he reaped the fruit of a singularly enterprising spirit. An attempt was made in 1810, while his father was still alive, *Early hostility to automatic presses.* to stop publication, by a strike of the workmen, which lasted five months. When fresh workmen were employed they were waylaid, and the police had to intervene. Twenty-one persons were tried at the Old Bailey; and of these, nineteen were sentenced to punishments ranging from nine months to two years. The story has been told again and again of how on one occasion while the strike continued, the younger Walter himself worked for thirty-six hours on end to aid in the production of the sheets. In the same year a German named Frederick Koenig, the son of a small farmer in Prussian Saxony, had patented a steam press, to which he added improvements in 1811 and 1813.

In 1814, two years after his father's death, the young Walter entered into negotiations with Koenig. The opposition among the workmen in *The Times* office now assumed an alarming aspect. They threatened destruction to 'Koenig and his traps.' We are confronted with a situation curiously resembling that which thrilled the world some thirty years afterwards as the subject of Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley*; and the development of this situation might well form a page in that novel if we substitute the rebellious printers for the rebellious weavers of two or three years earlier.¹

Both regarded new machinery with a superstitious horror almost mediæval in its ferocity. But the spirit of progress in the second John Walter was as resourceful as it was formidable. He secretly introduced a number of new

¹ The novel *Shirley* did not appear until 1849; but the scenes described in it commemorate events that had happened in the years 1811 and 1812 during the Luddite Riots. Ned Lud was a strange person in whom the spirit of hostility to the newer forms of mechanical enterprise was so irrepressible that he gave his name to the revolutionary manifestations of that period.

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workmen into the office of *The Times*, adjoining which were the premises of Koenig and his fellow-worker Bauer. While the disaffection rose to fever-point through the night, Koenig's presses were steadily vindicating the powers of the new invention. On a dark November morning at six o'clock, Mr. Walter entered the press-room. The clamour subsided into an expectant silence, upon which the following words fell with a memorable precision of utterance: '*The Times* is already printed by steam. If you attempt violence, there is a force ready to suppress it. If you are peaceable, your wages shall be continued until similar employment can be procured for you.'

The introduction of the steam press in 1814 is of course but the prelude to a long chapter of subsequent perfection in printing worked out in *The Times* office, the most striking being that effected by the use of paper in continuous rolls. Some idea of the increase in speed in power presses obtained between 1814 and the present time may be gathered from the following table:—

Data.	Machine.	Max. Number of Sheets per Hour.
1814	Koenig	1,100
1827	Applegath	2,000
1848	Applegath	4,400
1857	Hoe	6,000
1860	Walter ¹	12,000
1884	Walter	24,000
1895	Hoe	36,000

The technical nature of the subject makes it impossible to do more than suggest the bare outlines of progress in the mechanical development of the Press which is associated with the history of *The Times*. Countless experiments have been made and many have been the discoveries within the walls of its printing office, so that it is no exaggeration to say that during the last half-century the honour of the three most important advances belongs largely to Printing House Square in virtue of its contributions to fast printing presses, stereotyping, and machine composing.

IV.—Administrators, Editors, and Contributors

ANY attempt to narrate concurrently all the important facts connected with the history of *The Times* in their chronological order would soon reduce the

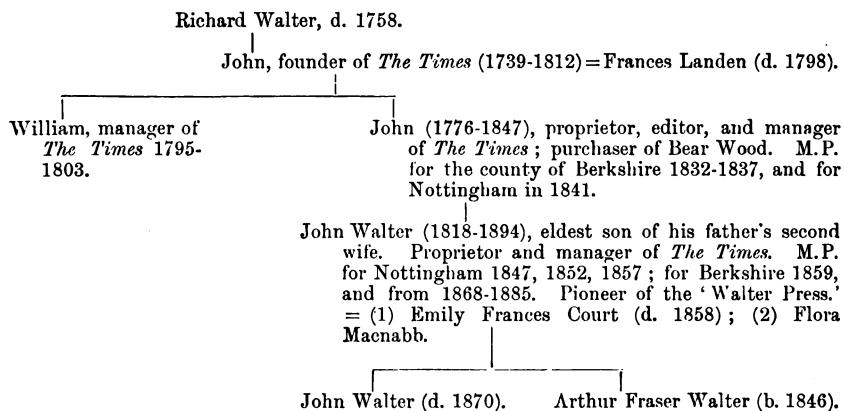
Method of historical research. reader to despair. Moreover, such a method would result in an attitude of pedantry impossible to defend in an age when it has been clearly established that a man must begin with a study of the present in order to arrive at an understanding of the past. This principle, it is true, involves a frequent recurrence to the same dates at different stages

¹ For a brilliant account of the Walter machine in its sociological aspect, too long to quote here, see Herbert Spencer's *Study of Sociology* (1873), pp. 126 and 127. The passage was written in 1872. The Walter Press was not a monopoly of *The Times*. On the contrary, it printed the *Daily News*, the *Soldier*, and the *Birmingham Daily Post*. In 1872 one of these machines was sent to the United States, and erected in five days by an engineer from *The Times* office.

Administrators, Editors, and Contributors 13

of the narrative; the same ground has to be approached more than once. But each time it has to be approached from a different point of view, and the heightened intelligibility with which the whole subject is thus presented to the reader by the separate narration of its parts will enable him to disengage the facts which he seeks more rapidly and more easily than would have been possible from a more consolidated narrative in which the narrator tried to tell his whole story in one breath.

The historic site of *The Times* office and the development of the printing press within its precincts have already been the subject of some investigation; but interesting as this may have proved to the reader, his *Personnel of 'The Times.'* curiosity will not be satisfied without some account of the men who controlled the administration and the personal characteristics of those who have contributed to the columns of the paper. The success achieved by the founder became an heirloom handed down to his son, his grandson, and his great-grandson. It can best be studied from the following table:—



From the above may be seen the association of the Walter family with *The Times* for four consecutive generations, extending from the origination of the journal to the present time.

The task of giving the reader some idea of the men who have edited *The Times* offers considerable difficulty, for the growth of editorial administration is no less complicated than that of the printing press itself; and the services of Dr. Stoddart as chief leader-writer at the beginning of the *Stoddart's leaders.* nineteenth century may be said to have differed from those of the *leaders.* the present staff no less than the construction of the Koenig Machine differed from that of the Walter Press. Stoddart is chiefly remembered now from the violence of his antagonism to the French, to which he gave free expression in *The Times leaders.* His attitude may be described as a burning epitome of English hatred for the 'Usurper Buonaparte,' a hatred more soberly reflected in our own generation in the more measured disapproval of Seeley, and gracefully atoned for in a recent publication of Lord Rosebery's. Napoleon is reputed to have said that he would rather face 10,000 armed men than four hostile newspapers, and *The Times* was a source of such personal and political exasperation to him that he is even supposed to have taken counsel's opinion

in England as to the advisability of instituting an action for libel against 'The Thunderer' in the Court of King's Bench.¹

Stoddart had at one time followed Coleridge in his ardent support of the French Revolution, but the rhetoric of Burke had effected a conversion in him before he joined *The Times* in 1810. Until after Waterloo the second John Walter was content that Stoddart should indulge in his furious diatribes. But in 1817, a couple of years later, the proprietor offered him a pension and dismissal. He accepted the dismissal, but declined the pension, and joined another newspaper, in which he carried on a bitterly hostile campaign against *The Times*.²

An independent spirit was the chief characteristic of *The Times* from the very beginning of its career. In the autumn of 1789 it had censured

the Duke of York,
or the first
John Walter.

was prosecuted in the following December, sentenced to pay a fine of £50, to stand in the pillory for an hour, to be imprisoned for a year, and after that to give security for his good behaviour for seven years. He was not put in the pillory, but he went to gaol.³ *The Times* went on its way unconcerned, and while its proprietor was in prison published two passages, one censuring the Prince of Wales and once more the Duke of York, the other charging the Duke of Clarence with having left his ship without leave. Walter was sentenced to another year's imprisonment and to pay fines amounting to £200. He was re-



PORTRAIT OF THE FIRST JOHN WALTER.

leased, however, at the instance of the Prince of Wales in 1791, after a period of sixteen months' confinement.

When the first John Walter died in 1812 it may truly be said that he had

¹ The honour of earning the title of 'Thunderer' for *The Times* is usually ascribed to Edward Sterling, a retired captain of militia and leader-writer, of whom Carlyle draws a perfervid picture (see *The Works of Thomas Carlyle*, 'Life of John Sterling' (1851), part ii. chap. xii. pp. 301-318). But it must be remembered that this was the denunciatory period in journalism, when most leader-writers indulged in a violence of language incompatible with the milder temper of the present day.

² On the 11th of September 1815 Lord Castlereagh wrote in terms of warning to Lord Liverpool, enclosing him a note containing Talleyrand's scathing observations on the unbridled license of the press. The letter is interesting in view of the fact that it was about this time that Stoddart's relations with his proprietor became dangerously strained. The first John Walter was no more to be coerced into an extreme attitude by the convictions of a contributor than he was to be frightened out of it by the representatives of the Government. When he came to the conclusion that Stoddart's leaders were ill-advised he dismissed him, but it is possible that the Government had some share in contributing to his decision.

³ For an interesting letter of the first John Walter written from Newgate Prison to Mr. Burges, see the *Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges*, by James Hatton, pp. 155-159.

inaugurated that policy of incorruptible independence which has become a tradition with *The Times*. He had lain in gaol for the criticism of royal personages ; the privilege of printing for the Customs, which had been his since 1786, had been lost, because *The Times* had accused Lord Melville of malpractices for which that minister was subsequently impeached.¹ The profit accruing from the Government advertisements, which were withdrawn, had also been lost to *The Times*, and its foreign despatches had been stopped at the outposts by the Gravesend officer, who had instructions to let pass no others than those of the ministerial journals. Again and again the Walters had refused to sell the liberty of their opinions for the amenities of Government favour.

*What 'The
Times' had
suffered and
won by 1812.*

The second John Walter, like his father, was a man whom opposition always stimulated to fresh enterprise. He kept a light cutter running to and fro across the Channel during the war with France, often obtaining copies of the French newspapers from the local fishermen, whereby he was enabled to supply exclusive information, for at this period French newspapers were contraband in England. The steamship *Haimun* chartered for the use of the war correspondents of *The Times* in the Russo-Japanese War is no innovation, but only a modern embodiment of the earlier Walter's enterprise, under conditions now infinitely more favourable. *The tradition
of rapid news
delivery.* So, too, the news of the outbreak of hostilities in Tibet, published before any other newspaper by *The Times* in 1904, is an achievement less to be marvelled at than the publication of Mack's surrender at Ulm five days before the official information reached the Government.²

The days when exclusive news was the property of governments who bartered it to the General Post Office, have passed away ; but one is apt to forget that the abolition of perhaps the most dangerous monopoly that can threaten the welfare of a State was due to the founder of *The Times*, and this early period of the newspaper's history is an invaluable source of information for the historian seeking to gain an insight into the conditions of life during the latter years of George III.'s reign.

Among those who contributed to the influence rapidly acquired by *The Times* were Peter Fraser (a young clergyman whose fame has been much obscured by that of his under-study Edward Sterling), and Henry Crabb Robinson, who went, for *The Times*, to Altona³ *The origin
of the war
correspondent.* in 1807, and may be said in his *Correspondence from the Banks of the Elbe*, published between March and August of that year, to have originated the war correspondent's profession.

The name of war correspondent, however, is first heard many years later, also in connexion with the services of a famous contributor to *The Times*, Dr. (now Sir) William Howard Russell, whose vehement criticism during the Crimean campaign aroused first the indignation and then the respect of the War Offices of Europe.⁴

¹ He was acquitted, but never again held office. The trial was in 1806.

² The only occasion on which *The Times* has ever been issued on a Sunday was when it published the official statement to prove the correctness of its assertion five days before.

³ From November 1806 to June 1807 Napoleon was at war with the Russians, aided by a smaller force of Prussians in Eastern Prussia. The Prussian cause was ruined at Friedland in June 1807, upon which followed the Peace of Tilsit.

⁴ See p. 25, *infra*.

Before discussing the newer epoch in journalism associated with the editorship of Barnes, a few words are due to William Combe, the vicissitudes

'Count' Combe, Dr. of whose life shed much light on the atmosphere of those early days in Printing House Square. He was author of *Three Tours in Dr. Syntax*.

of Dr. Syntax, a work that acquired enormous popularity not only on account of its text, in which we may trace much that is suggestive of the *Pickwick Papers*, but also on account of the designs drawn for it by Rowlandson, with whom the author worked in collaboration over a number of books. Combe was a voluminous writer. He had been educated at Eton, and galloped gloriously through his estate with an ease that earned for him the title of 'Count' Combe; had become a pensioner of Pitt, and an inmate of a debtors' prison, between which and the offices of Printing House Square he frequently travelled to advise and converse with the proprietor of *The Times*. His character was a curious medley of contradictory instincts, and would provide grateful material to the novelist wishing to portray an England of the age of Dr. Syntax.

The years during which Thomas Barnes edited *The Times* (1817-1841) extend through the reigns of George IV. and William IV. into the Victorian

The editorship of Thomas Barnes. era, and it would need the nicest judgment to measure the rapidity with which the weight and authority of the paper

rose in this period as compared with the speed at which its influence was subsequently increased under the editorship of Delane (1841-1877). The more nearly the history of *The Times* of to-day is approached, the more difficult it is to see it in its proper perspective. Great events fall with peculiar force upon the mind of the contemporary spectator; and there is always a wide difference between the memory of an event witnessed even in the earliest days of childhood or narrated by an eye-witness, and the memory of an event learned from the mute pages of a book.

There are men and women living to-day who can still just remember the coronation of George IV., and many of a younger generation have been enabled

Attitude of 'The Times' towards Queen Caroline. from the accounts of their parents to form a vivid conception of the sordid splendour surrounding a king whose title, 'First Gentleman of Europe,' has earned for him the permanent scorn of the best minds. The portraits of Mrs. Fitzherbert and of Perdita still hang on many a wall to point a moral. The prose of Thackeray written thirty years after the King's death is still as eloquent as ever—the passage on Queen Caroline still makes its sympathetic appeal:—

As I read her trial in history, I vote she is not guilty. I don't say it is an impartial verdict, but as one reads her story the heart bleeds for the kindly, generous, outraged, creature.

Thackeray had most probably read the trial in *The Times*, and it is a testimony to the honour of that journal that it maintained a vigorous and persistent opposition to the King and Government all through the persecution of the Queen which disfigures the annals of that inglorious reign.

Famous contributors under Barnes. Under the editorship of Barnes, Thackeray himself contributed to *The Times*, and among the brilliant names associated with its columns during this period are those of Brougham, Moore, Macaulay, and Disraeli.

Administrators, Editors, and Contributors 17

It is worth recording that on the 29th of January 1829, about a year before the close of George IV.'s reign, the newspaper appeared as a double sheet with 8 pages (48 columns) instead of 4 pages (24 columns). *The Times* doubles its size. In fifteen years from the invention of the steam press its circulation had trebled itself.

The part played by *The Times* in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832¹ forms one of the most striking chapters in the history of Printing House Square. *The Times* had never been a party organ. Its attitude during this crisis—perhaps the most momentous in the political history of the century—was the attitude of a great intellectual power conscious of its own strength and exercising itself in the welfare of the country. It was a fearless expression of independent opinion, and Greville was stating no more than the truth when a year later he wrote of an article in *The Times* that it made ‘as much noise as the declaration of a powerful minister or a leader of the opposition could do in either house of Parliament.’ Throughout the year 1831 *The Times* had steadily resisted the repeated attempts of the Tories to enlist its influence on their side. The Duke of Wellington, whom Lord Grey succeeded as Premier in 1830, had ranged himself with the statesmen of an expiring epoch in refusing to recognise the growing power of the Press. When Greville urged him in 1834 to seek the support of Barnes, the Duke himself admitted the mistake he had made in the past, adding regretfully that he didn't think *The Times* could be influenced. At a later stage of the negotiations which ensued between Barnes and Lord Lyndhurst² he again expressed a similar opinion. ‘*The —*,’ he said, ‘might be played with, but not *The Times*; Barnes is the most powerful man in the country.’

While the editor had thus risen to a position of supreme importance in the critical situation into which the whole country was plunged at this time, the tradition of strict attention to his business founded by the first John Walter was rigorously continued by his son. As a young man he had already successfully combated a strike of the workmen in the printing office in 1810, and again in 1814 on the introduction of Koenig's machine. The conditions were indeed changed since those early days of struggle; but

¹ The rejection of the Reform Bill by the Lords reduced the country in the latter months of 1831 to a political crisis which has been compared with that of 1688. Its historic sequel may be read in the following paper extorted from the desperate King under the stress of the situation. ‘The King grants permission to Earl Grey, and to his Chancellor Lord Brougham, to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to ensure the passing of the Reform Bill, first calling up peers' eldest sons.’ The submission of the Lords under such a threat as was implied in this document followed as a matter of course, and so the threat was never carried into execution.

² John Singleton Copley was made Lord Chancellor with the title of Lord Lyndhurst in 1827. He held this office for the fourth time in the Peel Administration (1841-46). No figure among the Tory ranks of that period offers a more fascinating study than that of the brilliant lawyer and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was Solicitor-General in the trial of Queen Caroline, a conspicuous obstructionist under Melbourne (1835-41), a reluctant convert to Free Trade in 1846 when so much of the old Tory feeling was swamped in the Corn Law agitation. During the remainder of his life he was perhaps more interesting as a private than as a public figure. The brilliant Mrs. Norton, whose wit compelled so many eminent persons of that epoch into her company, secured in Lord Lyndhurst a champion of women's rights in questions of divorce. The versatility of his talent may be gathered from the fact that at the age of eighty-four he spent an autumn in Dieppe ‘helping to fly paper kites, and amusing himself by turns with the writings of the Greek and Latin fathers on divorce and the amorous novels of Eugène Sue.’

the man remained the same. Wherever personal energy was needed in the cause of his great paper the second John Walter found work to be done, and the late Dr. Smiles tells of another instance of his indefatigable zeal, his rare

capacity for meeting the difficulties of an emergency by immediate personal action.

In the spring of 1833, shortly after Walter's return to Parliament

as member for Berkshire, he chanced to

be in *The Times* office one morning when an express came from Paris containing the speech of Louis Philippe on the opening of the Chambers. It was already ten o'clock and the day's newspaper had been issued. Editors and compositors were away from Printing House Square, seeking a few hours' rest after the fatigue of the night's labour. The value of the news could only be preserved by immediate publication. What was to be done?

Mr. Walter first translated the document; he then entered the

PORTRAIT OF THE SECOND JOHN WALTER.

deserted press room, and taking a stool at the type case set up the manuscript. At noon one of the staff entered Printing House Square. He probably was not thinking of Mr. Walter, but if his mind had dwelt for a moment on the proprietor of the journal for which he worked, he would have pictured a man close upon sixty years of age, dressed with a certain careless dignity, taking a morning saunter in the Mall, and occasionally arresting his reflexion on the political problems of the day to note the pleasing advance of spring in the leaves of the trees about him. Possibly, the journalist would even have sighed at the comparison raised in his mind between the leisure of his proprietor and his own hurried existence. Whatever may have been passing through his mind—and this is not on record—on entering the press room he found Mr. Walter, M.P. for Berkshire, at work in his shirt-sleeves. A second edition of *The Times* containing the French King's speech was in the city by one o'clock.

The closing years of Barnes's editorship are marked by no more famous episode than the exposure of a gigantic scheme of forgery in the pages of

The forged credits of 1840. his journal. The tablet which may to-day be seen over the door in Printing House Square commemorates the services performed in connexion with this exposure. Mr. O'Reilly, the Paris correspondent in 1840, collected evidence enabling him to publish an account of a most ingenious conspiracy for fraud on a scale so large that it was to include the chief towns of Europe as centres of operation. The parties to the conspiracy were both male and female, and their plot involved the



almost simultaneous presentation at the chief banking houses throughout the Continent, of forged letters of credit purporting to be those of Messrs. Glyn and Company. The failure of the conspiracy was largely due to *The Times*. The earnestness with which the swindlers regarded the pursuit of their designs, the affectionate adieu which they bestowed upon one another in their travels, as one swindler left a town to a brother or sister in the plot and continued his journey in the train, must be read in the article of Mr. O'Reilly to be fully appreciated. The story is a singular addition to the annals of crime. The detection of the imposture cost *The Times* more than £5000, but such was the gratitude of the city that the money was raised almost immediately. Mr. Walter, however, declined to profit by the generosity of the public, and the sum raised was devoted to the foundation of two 'Times Scholarships' in connexion with Christ's Hospital and the City of London School.

A similar indifference to commercial considerations accounts for the action of *The Times* in 1845 when, at the cost of a loss of advertisements *The railway mania of 1845.* that would have proved ruinous to any other paper, it persisted in discountenancing the reckless spirit of speculation in the premature promotion of railways.

In 1841 Thomas Barnes died. His personality eludes any attempt at constructive description. The strength of the man is made evident in the history of his editorial career. Reeve in his memoirs says of him that he was 'a man who used the utmost power of the press without arrogance and without bitterness to any one.' To this high estimate may be added the graceful tribute of Leigh Hunt, his schoolfellow at Christ's Hospital and life-long friend: 'He might have made himself a name in wit and literature, had he much cared for anything beyond his glass of wine and his Fielding.'

V.—'The Times' under Delane

THE attitude of France towards England when John Delane became editor was peculiarly hostile. Lord Palmerston had treated French diplomacy in Egypt with defiant and successful contempt. Guizot, the new minister, was ready to secure the goodwill of England, and in pursuit of his policy *The Times* appeared to him a valuable instrument. In a letter to Reeve, who had become a contributor under Barnes in 1840, *Guizot and 'The Times.'* the French minister frankly pleaded now for the English journalist's co-operation. 'I shall have great difficulties in the next session,' he wrote. ' . . . I shall walk among snares. . . . I hope I shall succeed. . . . Help me still, my dear sir, as you have often done before, and to such good purpose.'

At first it seemed as if this peaceable attitude was likely to win its due reward, and Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary of that epoch, did all in his power to ~~preserve~~ the more friendly relations thus initiated between the two countries. But the independent attitude of *The Times*, as Guizot had not foreseen, was by this time a force so potent and had now acquired such

strength that ministers could no longer pursue their aims in the face of a hostile Press. One by one the bulwarks of aristocratic privilege were being broken down under that tide of democracy which swept through the whole of the Victorian era. The expression of individual opinion and individual power was being slowly weakened by increased facilities of intercommunication. Successive governments had experienced no quarter from the little army of

thinkers in Printing House Square. Guizot, however, had not yet learned his new and difficult lesson to perfection.

In 1845 he thought well to detain *The Times* courier in Paris, and thus delay the delivery of his despatches from the Far East as a retort to unfavourable criticism of Louis Philippe's Government in the columns of the English newspaper. The passion for news of the situation in the Punjab was running high at this moment in England. Scinde was tranquil under

Detention of Napier, but the news from the situation at Far East.

Lahore was still

very grave, and trouble was apprehended from the Sikhs at the approaching festival of the Dusserah. Guizot was piqued, and caught eagerly at

PORTRAIT OF THE THIRD JOHN WALTER.

any weapon with which to make evident his annoyance. He could make it all the more felt because there were journals in England whose attitude was more congenial to him than that of *The Times*.

Once more, however, the resourceful energy of the second John Walter came into play. The perfection of an overland route service from India had been the cherished ambition of Thomas Waghorn, and he now co-operated with Mr. Walter to bring the news to England from the Far East without touching French territory. A messenger met the Indian mail packet at Suez, and as soon as *The Times* consignment was handed to him he rode with it on a dromedary to Alexandria—a distance of nearly 200 miles. Here Waghorn lay waiting for him in an Austrian steamer which sailed at once for a port near Trieste. The mail was then despatched by way of Ostend to Dover, where a special train was ready to convey it to London. On the 31st of October 1845, to the amazement and humiliation of Guizot, in the columns of *The Times* he read news of the situation which only appeared later in the Paris journals. But Monsieur Guizot was not to be beaten without a struggle, and the readers of those days were now to witness the singular



spectacle of the French Government employing all its resources to aid sympathetic English newspapers in an attempt to forestall publication of Eastern news from Printing House Square. Special steamers and trains were placed at the disposal of the *Morning Herald*, enabling that journal to print the next Eastern budget two days ahead of *The Times*. But in December an accident conspired to place the victory once more on the side of *The Times*. While a storm in the Mediterranean hindered the arrival of the French vessel at Marseilles, the Trieste boat sailed in quiet waters up the Adriatic, and this time the news again reached England before it reached France. Such a competition in rapid delivery under such peculiar circumstances had never been seen before; and it was universally recognised that not only had the French Government admitted an equality in its opponent by entering the struggle, but also that it had not the power—to say nothing of the right—to dictate the terms on which news should be conveyed to the press of a foreign country.

*'The Times' in
conflict with
the French
Government.*

The month of December was indeed a memorable one for John Delane, who, when he became editor of *The Times*, was no older than Pitt in his first premiership. Even now, after five years in office, he was under thirty, and he could little have guessed four years before, when in a burst of youthful spirits he entered John Blackwood's room with the news of his appointment, that he was so soon to help in shaping the destiny of a Cabinet in a way, and at a moment, which gave to him an even greater political control than had ever been possessed by an editor of *The Times*.

In every crisis which agitates a ministry and threatens its very existence, the temper and convictions of individual members of the Cabinet are put to a very severe strain. What may often seem in theory to be an impregnable political maxim cannot always be sustained in practice under the stress of violent external pressure. The forces which ultimately conspired to effect a total repeal of the duty on corn show themselves in the history of this period through a constantly shifting variety of opinions and concessions.

In 1839 *The Times* had denounced duties on imported grain, while nearly all the other newspapers had supported them. In 1842 it had taken exception, not to a reduction, nor even to an abolition of duties, but to the method of dealing with the situation proposed in Peel's *sliding scale*. While Cobden and the Anti-Corn-Law League represented a tendency to which *The Times* could not wholly reconcile itself, it had been able in 1843 to express itself in terms of no mean appreciation with regard to the steadfast endeavours of these men.

*'The Times'
and Corn Law
Reform.*

No moralist can disregard them; no politician can sneer at them; no statesman can undervalue them; he who frames laws must to some extent consult them.

When *The Times* could write thus, it was no wonder that a little later Peel should secretly have agreed with Graham and Aberdeen on abolition; but he was unable to convert the more Tory half of the Cabinet to an express assent to that policy.

On the 22nd of November 1845 *The Times* published a letter from Lord John Russell suggesting a compromise between the Whigs and those who supported Peel, by which he meant the Peel whom they knew—the Peel of

the sliding scale—but not the statesman of whose conversion they were ignorant. The suggestion was a transparent attempt to steal from a Tory Cabinet its least Tory sentiments, and so bring a Whig ministry again to the

helm of affairs. Aberdeen sent for Delane. On the 3rd of December, a week later, he again sent for Delane. There was no time to be lost, for he wished to soothe the Government of the United States, with whom important negotiations were pending, by a direct intimation of the market

Lord Aberdeen which was open-and Delane. ing for their corn-stuffs.' He consequently told Delane that Peel was determined on abolition, had threatened to resign unless his will were obeyed, and that the chief rebels in the Cabinet had submitted. Aberdeen knew of course that Delane would publish the burden of his communication, and could not therefore have been surprised when on the 4th of December *The Times* announced with 'an air of certainty and authority, that the discussions and disputes in the Cabinet had terminated by a resolution to call

Parliament together early in

PORTRAIT OF JOHN THADDEUS DELANE.

January and propose a total repeal of the Corn Laws, and that the Duke had not only consented but was to bring forward the measure in the House of Lords.'

The facts, however, lay in a slightly different direction from that which Aberdeen had allowed Delane to assume from the statement that the chief rebels in the Cabinet had submitted. Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch refused to acquiesce, and on the 6th of December the Cabinet dissolved and Peel resigned. But the impulse to the abolition movement given by the publication of *The Times* could no longer be resisted. Russell vainly tried to form a Cabinet, and on the 24th of the same month Peel once more became Premier, with the Duke of Buccleuch as Lord President of the Council and Mr. Gladstone as Colonial Secretary. In February 1846 the measure for reform was brought forward by Peel. Its main provision was that within three years of the passing of the Act (9 & 10 Vict. c. 22) all foreign corn was to be admitted at a nominal impost.¹

¹ Foreign corn at 1s. a quarter, foreign meal and flour at a duty of 4½d. per cwt.



The story of the part played by *The Times* in bringing about the Corn Law Reform provided for many years a frequent topic of conversation wherever Englishmen met. For many years the knowledge that the '*The Times*' in newspaper displayed by its premature announcement admitted *fiction*. of no explanation, and the question, 'Who could have told Delane?' became almost like a catchword in a play. The mystery was enhanced in 1885 by the publication of Mr. Meredith's *Diana of the Crossways*, in which the political atmosphere of 1845 is reproduced together with the disclosure of that Cabinet secret of which the publication stirred all England. There was more than a suggestion of resemblance between the 'Diana' of the novel and Mrs. Norton, the grand-daughter of Sheridan, a brilliant Irish lady of that period.¹ Mr. Meredith has made 'Diana' the source of the editor's information as to the change of front in the minister, and in consequence of the persistent association of Mrs. Norton with the splendid delinquencies of his heroine, he has added a note to the latest edition of his book, in which he states that the calumny that overshadowed the daughter of an illustrious Irish house has latterly been exposed as baseless, and that his book is to be read as fiction. The story of the disclosure is fiction—brilliant fiction, as we have seen, now that sufficient time has elapsed for the political skeleton of those days to be taken from its cupboard and quietly examined. But the value of the descriptions in the novel is a value of realities. There can be little doubt what office was in Mr. Meredith's mind when he wrote of Diana entering 'a small still square of many lighted windows,' nor is Mr. Meredith's name of 'Mr. Tonans' for the editor without significance for those who remember that *The Times* in its early days was nicknamed 'The Thunderer.'

Certainly the thunder of *The Times* under Delane was none the less effectual because the temper of the age made it more subdued than in the days of Edward Sterling's leaders. The date 1848 marks an epoch of revolution all over Europe. This was a period in which men's souls were so inflamed with the rhetoric of the word Liberty that their actions were often destructive of the aims they pursued. It was the spectacle of Orpheus caught in a frenzy at the melody of his own music, dashing to pieces the lute from which he drew the sounds.

Many books have been written about this tragic ebullition of sentimental frenzy throughout a continent, but in nearly all there is lacking the necessary actuality for conveying a picture. The reader is buried under an ever-growing mass of theories of constitutional government and interpretations of the experiments made to embody those theories. Reeve, who was laid up with gout in Paris at this time, secured the services of John Palgrave Simpson as correspondent for *The Times*, and it is to the letters of Simpson that the student must turn if he wishes to get an impression of the events that agitated the Paris of '48. Simpson may be cited as an illustration of a man who leaps from obscurity into singular prominence through the exigencies of a situation. Had Reeve not

*'The Times'
Paris corre-
spondent in
1848.*

¹ See footnote on page 48 in an article on Mr. Meredith's novels published in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1895. Reeve expressly denies all truth as to the alleged revelation of Mrs. Norton, this disclaimer being the result of a letter from Lord Dufferin on the subject, dated the 19th of December 1894, in which he states his ability to prove that the whole story was an absolute myth.

The History of 'The Times'

been afflicted with gout, the series of letters in *The Times* ultimately republished with additions under the title of *Pictures from Revolutionary Paris* might never have been written, and these valuable impressions of an able eye-witness might have been a source sealed to the historian.

But it was not alone in providing its readers with the best information during this period that *The Times* did valuable service. Lord Palmerston's sympathy with the revolutionary parties abroad overstepped the bounds of discretion when he secretly sanctioned the shipping of stores from Woolwich for the use of the Sicilians in their attempt to sever Sicily from the Kingdom of Naples. It was through an article in *The Times* that Lord John Russell first became aware of Palmerston's responsibility in the matter, and the

Palmerston's stubborn Foreign Minister was compelled to make an official apology to the King of Naples, a man who inspired him *King of Naples.* with particular aversion. The persistent habit of acting without authority ultimately cost Lord Palmerston his office. *The Times* could publish its opinions without first consulting the wishes of the Cabinet. But the Foreign Minister could not do this with impunity; and the active sympathy of Lord Palmerston with the Sicilian insurgents was only one episode in a long line of conduct which reached its climax when the Foreign Minister expressed, without consulting his colleagues, his personal congratulation to the French ambassador on the occasion of the *coup d'état* by which Napoleon III. made himself master of France in 1851. The attention of Lord John Russell had been fixed on Lord Palmerston more suspiciously ever since the article in *The Times* had awakened his perception of the extent to which the Foreign Minister ventured on independent action. On learning the conduct of his rebellious colleague to the French ambassador he advised his dismissal.

The political independence of the editors at Printing House Square has always been an encouragement to the leading men of the day to give expression to all shades of opinion. And for this reason a particular interest has always been associated with the correspondence appearing from day to day on all matters of a controversial nature in the columns of *The Times*. But apart from the value of these letters as a source for the study of sociological problems, they have in many instances helped to remedy an abuse.

To the younger generation of to-day it seems hardly credible that little more than thirty years ago large crowds could assemble to see a man hanged in the peaceful city of London. An irresponsible association of ideas—the result of a defective training in modern history—makes the introduction of railways appear far more recent than the abolition of public executions.¹ In 1840 Thackeray described the sickening horror which overcame him on seeing a man hanged. 'I pray God,' he wrote, 'that it may soon be out of the power of any man in England to witness such a hideous and degrading sight.'²

Charles Dickens The letters of Charles Dickens to *The Times* in 1849 are a burning plea for the encouragement of a humarer public executions. attitude than that permitted for so long to receive official

¹ It was not until 1868 (31 & 32 Vict. c. 24) that public executions were abolished in England.

² 'Going to see a Man Hanged,' *Fraser's Magazine*, July 1840. The essay is included in the complete works of Thackeray, under *Sketches and Travels in London*.

sanction, and they mark a definite step towards the suppression of that morbid psychology in crowds which, until a year or two ago, was still allowed to manifest itself on the execution of a criminal in a rush to see the black flag hoisted over the gaol. It is difficult to over-estimate the services of a newspaper in familiarising the public mind with a new and progressive moral aspect by an express and merciless condemnation of a barbarous tradition. The outspoken horror of Dickens shocked the sensibilities of the public of that day. Even *The Times* itself criticised the novelist's observations with considerable asperity in leading articles. But the publication of the letters made the subject of public executions a topic from the fearless discussion of which there could no longer be any refuge in silence.

Different as were the services performed by *The Times* in the Crimean War from those indicated by its publication of the letters of Dickens, they may be said to have exercised a similar influence upon the public mind. In the work of Henry Crabb Robinson *The Times and the Crimean War.* had in fact originated the war correspondent, but the spirit of war correspondence as we understand it to-day was first revealed in the letters of William Howard Russell from the Crimea. Until then the war news published in the newspapers had consisted of little more than bare reports of strategical plans and of the manoeuvres performed by the armies. Anything like actuality in the description of an engagement would have been regarded as an error in taste. As it had not been customary to allude to the swelled veins in the neck of a man publicly hanged, so it had not been regarded as coming within the province of a war correspondent to speak, except in the coldest language, of blood shed upon the field of battle.

But the letters of William Howard Russell were no mere catalogues of battles lost and won ; they did not enumerate the dead and wounded in the soulless accents of statistics. They brought the actuality of the war in Russia—the whole story of pain and horror and despair—into the very heart of England. Nor was the value of these descriptions confined to their power of conveying to the public true impressions of what actually passed ; for, besides possessing a talent for narration unmatched until then in the annals of



PORTRAIT OF SIR WILLIAM HOWARD RUSSELL.

English journalism, Russell was an acute and unsparing critic of military operations. He met the indignation and exasperation of the Headquarters Staff at the audacity of his condemnations with an unflinching courage that was in complete accord with the traditions of the paper he represented. Delane himself, as well as Kinglake, went out to the Crimea, and while the historian was noting minutely the disposition of the troops in the battle of the Alma, *The Times* correspondent was writing his memorable account of that engagement seated at a plank placed by two sappers across a couple of barrels to serve as a table.

To the Cabinet at home Russell's criticism was no less formidable than to the generals of the armies. It was largely owing to the articles in *The Times* that the Aberdeen Ministry fell in 1855. The commissariat had been grossly mismanaged during the severe winter of 1854, and the correspondent of *The Times* ruthlessly exposed the terrible consequences to the half-starved, ill-clad men of the rank and file. Sir Evelyn Wood, writing of the calamitous experiences of these days, says of Russell: 'Few unprejudiced men who were in the Crimea will now attempt to call in question the fact that by awakening the

Downfall of the Aberdeen Ministry due to 'The Times.' conscience of the British nation to the sufferings of its troops he saved the remnant of those grand battalions we landed in September 1854. It is true that to save men's lives a ministry was overturned by the Press, but soldiers could scarcely have been expected to regret even such a contingency when the existence of an expeditionary force was at stake. The Government tried, however, though in vain, to moderate the language of the leading newspaper.'

The effect of Russell's letters was felt in almost every department of human affairs. Once fully roused to the horrors of the situation, the public, who were now seized with a passion for reading *The Times* that raised its circulation by more than a third, were eager to respond to the invitations of Delane, who inaugurated a fund of £20,000 for the sick and wounded. Florence Nightingale had already reached Scutari on the 4th of November, and the distribution of the fund collected by *The Times* was begun a month later from that city.

The career of Sir William Howard Russell is a lesson in the history of journalism. In the present century, when *The Times* employed as many as twenty-four correspondents in the Boer War, the achievements of this one man between 1854 and 1856 form in themselves an astonishing comment on the change of conditions between then and now. He represented *The Times* during the Indian Mutiny, in the American Civil War, in the Austro-Prussian War, and in the Franco-German War.¹ Thus the dates of '54, '57, '66, and '70—the most memorable in the world's history during that period in which Delane edited *The Times*—are closely associated in the history of that journal with the name of its great war correspondent. He was a young man when he went to the Crimea, and his journalistic success coincided with a time when the rapid increase of circulation due to the removal of the Stamp Duty, and also to the popular favour accorded to his work, so improved the advertising value of *The Times* that the proprietors were enabled to offer

¹ Russell's accounts of the surrender of Sedan and of the German entry into Paris contain some of his most brilliant descriptive writing.

the paper to its readers at a penny less than the fivepence at which it was then being sold.¹

The abolition of the Stamp Duty in 1855 was the signal for a number of journals to start into existence. Before this disability was removed the Press had been the property of the few journals that were powerful enough to make their appearance at the daily cost of *Repeal of the Stamp Duty.* adding to the revenue. *The Times*, believing earnestly in the extension of this power, even at the cost of a monopoly largely its own, advocated the repeal of the Act in no hesitating terms, as the following extract from its columns will show :—

A tax on news is a tax on knowledge, a tax on education, a tax on truth, a tax on public opinion, a tax on good order and good government, a tax on society, a tax on the progress of human affairs, and on the working of human institutions.

The period between 1853, when the duty on advertisements was abolished, and 1861, when the Paper Duty was repealed, shows an unparalleled development of the Press, and under the editorship of Delane *The Times* rose into greater prominence with the appearance of every fresh journal.

Among those who contributed to *The Times* under the editorship of Delane were : George Webbe Dasent, the Rev. Thomas Mozley, Gilbert A'Beckett, Austen Henry Layard, Robert Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), Matthew Higgins (Jacob Omnim), Lord Sydney Godolphin Osborne (S. G. O.), Charles Greville, Henry Reeve, John Oxenford, Tom Taylor, Sir Frederic Rogers (Lord Blachford), Sir Roundell Palmer (Earl of Selborne), George Brodrick, George Venables, Mark Pattison, Laurence Oliphant, and Prevost Paradol. It was under Delane too that Historicus (Sir William Harcourt) first wrote his famous letters, afterwards republished under the title of *Some Questions of International Law*, and that Dean Stanley and Cardinal Newman both contributed to *The Times*.

Concerning the personality of the man who gathered round him all this array of talent, little has been published, and the anecdotes that have been told in connexion with him serve rather to illustrate some quality in the teller than in the person described. Perhaps Kinglake's observation that he was a man 'passionately imbued with the spirit of journalism' gives the best clue to a life of singularly active interests and strenuous endeavours. He died at the age of sixty-two, after seeing the rise and fall of thirteen Administrations. He was familiar both as host and *Contributors under Delane.* guest to nearly all the leading persons of his time. He listened more than he spoke. He was one of the very few people in England who predicted the success of German arms in the war of 1870.

With the retirement of Delane *The Times* entered upon a new phase of development.

¹ In connexion with this subject the following table showing the price of *The Times* at successive stages of its career will prove of interest to the reader :—

July 1, 1796	. . . .	4½d.	Sept. 15, 1836	. . . .	5d.
Jan. 1, 1799	. . . .	6d.	July 1, 1855	. . . .	4d.
May 22, 1809	. . . .	6½d.	Oct. 1, 1861	. . . .	3d.
Sept. 1, 1815	. . . .	7d.			

VI.—'The Times' in its Modern Aspects

THE growth of a newspaper may be compared with the growth of a State. It begins with the accidental associations of ideas and interests among a few people, passes through periods of organic construction and reconstruction in which the balance of internal forces that give it life is constantly being readjusted, and ultimately reaches a stage in which it is a complete embodiment of the single impulse underlying its origin. Just as the State is evolved from the chance grouping of peoples into a nation, so the newspaper, starting with a more or less incoherent attempt to utter the thought of the age, attains to a perfect use of language in the course of its career, and what began with the irresponsible babble of a few wits in a coffee-house becomes the perfected expression of national aspirations.

While the emancipation of the Press needs no apology to-day, and the repeal of the Stamp Act, the advance of machinery, the almost universal employment of shorthand and of the typewriter as a means of rapidly producing in print merely ephemeral ideas, each marks a stage in the liberation of opinion, it must not be forgotten that the novelty of these conditions implies a necessary change in the significance of printed matter. The exclusive aristocracy of letters is no less a thing of the past than the exclusive aristocracy of the landowner, and in the present day, when the circulation of reckless opinion and ill-founded rumour is facilitated by the mechanical developments of the printing press, when hardly a suspicion or a fancy passing through the mind of the most ill-informed person is too preposterous to be printed in some obscure journal, exactitude and authority in a newspaper can only be maintained where those who control its daily issue recognise the duty as well as the value of reticence. The power of *The Times* displayed in the historical episodes already recorded was, at the time of their happening, felt rather than understood. We are only beginning to-day to grasp the precise relations of the Press to the Government throughout the Administrations of Pitt and his successors down to that of Disraeli, in the course of which Delane was succeeded by Chereny as editor at Printing House Square. With the rapid growth of irresponsible statements in the Press during the last quarter of a century, the services performed by *The Times* consequently lie as much in rigid abstention from indiscreet revelations as in prompt publication of contemporary news. But it is only some time after an event of importance has been judiciously concealed that the explanation of a silence unintelligible at the time can be made with advantage.

By the year 1877, such was the impersonal force gathered by *The Times* in its career that seven years of steady success followed, during which the

'*The Times*' paper was under the scholarly influence of a man far milder than his predecessors in the exercise of his authority, eminent *Chereny*. as an Arabic scholar (he was Lord Almoner's professor of Arabic at Oxford from 1868 to 1877), and pre-eminent for an introduction to *Machberoth Ithiel*,¹ written in a Hebrew so perfect that it provoked

¹ This work is by Jehudah ben Shelomo Alkharizi.

a chorus of applause from the finest Jewish scholars of the day. The most striking contribution to *The Times* under Thomas Chereny was the text of the Berlin Treaty, published in London on Saturday, the 13th of July 1878, about a couple of hours before it was signed by the congress of ministers in Berlin. This achievement is without a parallel in the history of journalism, and has summoned a whole literature of anecdote and criticism into existence. It astonished every one; and in the excitement aroused by the climax of a long process of painful labour and astute



PORTRAIT OF M. DE BLOWITZ.

investigation, much of the service done by De Blowitz, while the Congress was still sitting, has escaped the memory of readers of *The Times*. Yet on the 22nd of June, through the contrivance of the same brilliant correspondent, *The Times* was enabled to publish a statement of the agreement effected between England and Russia on the Bulgarian question. The agreement had been effected only on Friday at midnight, and it was known at six the next morning in London and by eight or nine o'clock in the rest of Europe. Speculation on a rupture between the two countries was rife on the Stock Exchange, and a dangerous manœuvre, involving a heavy fall in Saturday's prices, would have been carried into execution had not the rapid action of De Blowitz arrested the conspiracy.

There is hardly an event of importance in the description of which he was occupied, whether it concerned the affairs of Spain, France, Germany, or

Europe in general, where De Blowitz did not enhance the reputation of *The Times* for the rapidity and accuracy of its news, while adding to the interest of its pages by the scintillations of a brilliant style. Whatever he heard, whatever he saw, absorbed his whole interest, dominated him so completely that when he wrote, his narrative reflected the emotions and opinions rather of one who was an integral part of the action than of one who was merely observing it.

And it was just this power of attracting round him the atmosphere of the events which it was his profession to chronicle, that won for him a prominent place in the diplomatic counsels of the ministers with whom he came in contact. He never extracted information : it came to him. One may laugh at the notion of the articles of the Berlin Treaty being carried in the lining of a hat, but to understand De Blowitz is to admit at once that the hat was for him a mere diversion in the whole enterprise. Somehow the treaty must have been conveyed to him : he had indeed made all his plans before ever the idea of exchanging hats with the bearer of the news occurred to him, and of the whole episode it may appropriately be said that in one's amusement at the hat, one is apt to forget the head which was beneath it. In 1871 he succeeded the brilliant but unequal Oliphant as Paris correspondent.

The year 1875 is memorable for the alarm which began to make itself felt throughout the Foreign Offices of Europe at the shadowed possibility of a second Franco-German War. Responsibility for that crisis was commonly ascribed to Bismarck. The French had decided to form a Fourth Battalion Moltke in some anxiety conferred with the Emperor William I. France at once took for granted the preparation of hostilities, and accused her formidable adversaries of five years back of scheming for a second campaign, from which they were only restrained by fear of Russia. Little credence was given to Bismarck's denial. The situation assumed a grave aspect, for the Emperor of Russia was about to visit Berlin in May, and, while knowing the plans on foot, would have to assume ignorance of them in consequence of the official nature of his visit, which would provoke an immediate outbreak of hostilities if he were to break silence on the situation. The strained relations of the Powers could only be eased if some force unconnected with them could give utterance to the facts,—and so once more the Press exercised its influence over the destiny of nations. Happily war was averted.

De Blowitz, calling on the Duc Decazes during the crisis, learned from him that there was but one power in the world to save the situation. 'There ~~is~~ *The Duc Decazes* is only one way,' he said, 'to prevent the Emperor of Russia ~~and~~ *'The Times.'* from being compelled, while in Berlin, to hold his peace. I will tell you how. Some authoritative journal, known throughout the world, should expose the entire situation, and this journal, I need hardly tell you, should be *The Times*. . . . No French journal could possibly do it, for the Germans would have the right to regard it as a provocation, and no one would believe the statement abroad. . . . Nor could such an exposure be made in an Italian journal ; those friendly to us have no authority. In Austria no important paper would care or dare to do it. And the Russian press is obviously out of the question, as its intervention, even were the censors to allow it, would put the Emperor of Russia in a false position at Berlin.'

The Times is the only paper in the world which can possibly publish such information with any telling and authoritative effect. And that is what I ask you to do.'

On this occasion *The Times* thought fit to oblige the French minister, but in the same year occurred another episode in which De Blowitz showed that the newspaper which he represented would only accept suggestions from ministers when their adoption was for the welfare of nations. De Blowitz was playing billiards with the Duc Decazes one evening when a telegram was brought to his host. On reading it the minister burst into a rage, for the news told of England's secret purchase of 200,000 Suez shares from Ismail Pasha. French interests in Egypt had been annihilated by a simple business transaction. In his fury he snapped his billiard cue across his knee. De Blowitz was in a delicate situation, but the atmosphere of delicate situations was familiar to him. Subsequently, however, the Duke begged him to publish an account of the scene in *The Times*, and he flatly refused. He had realised the perilous consequences that such a publication as this might bring in its course; and that his conduct was inspired by the highest motives was admitted later even by the Duke himself. 'You have acted,' he said, 'as a friend of the minister and as a friend of peace; and never shall I forget what you have done for me—for us: for you have sacrificed a journalistic success to your sense of duty. Believe me, the latter is the better memory.' It is owing to a diplomatic reserve of this kind as much as to its freedom of utterance that *The Times* has maintained an unvarying level of authority. It was not until quite recently that the silence of De Blowitz with regard to the affair of the Suez Canal shares was made public. This will in itself be an indication of the necessity for brevity in the discussion of the political services done by *The Times*, from the period when its present editor first assumed control. Ten or twenty years hence, when the restrictions placed upon revelation by the existing political relations between countries have been removed, there is reason to expect publication of much that will help to elucidate such episodes in the action of diplomatists and statesmen as must remain obscure during their lifetime.

While the experiences of De Blowitz in 1875 took place under the editorship of Delane they have been narrated in the present chapter because they illustrate the modern tendency of *The Times*, and in the method of his diplomacy as well as in the character of his writing, the late Paris correspondent belonged essentially to the era of modern journalism. As *The Times* led the way in mechanical equipment, so it may also fairly claim to have dictated the tone of foreign correspondence in the English press through the employment as its Paris correspondent of a man who was primarily moved to observation by a sympathy with life in its modern manifestation. His zest for the scenes in which he moved and for the clash of contemporary interests, his mastery of languages, his fluent effective writing, his almost incredible versatility must continue to rouse admiration in every one who reads his work; and whether he describes a personal interview with the young King of Spain or with the Iron Chancellor, whether he is analysing the nature of the Berlin Treaty or picturing the scenes of the Dreyfus trial, whether he is concerned with the 'seventies

or with the 'nineties, De Blowitz never strikes a note out of harmony with his environment. He wrote for *The Times* under three successive editors, he held the key to a multitude of State secrets, and never unfastened the lock so as to admit the light of publicity unless urged by the public welfare. He found time for everything—even for sentiments of affection and friendship rare to be discovered in people whose profession carries them into an official world. Perhaps no journalistic figure of the nineteenth century presents us with personality so complete, so complex, so persuasive.

VII.—Observations in Conclusion

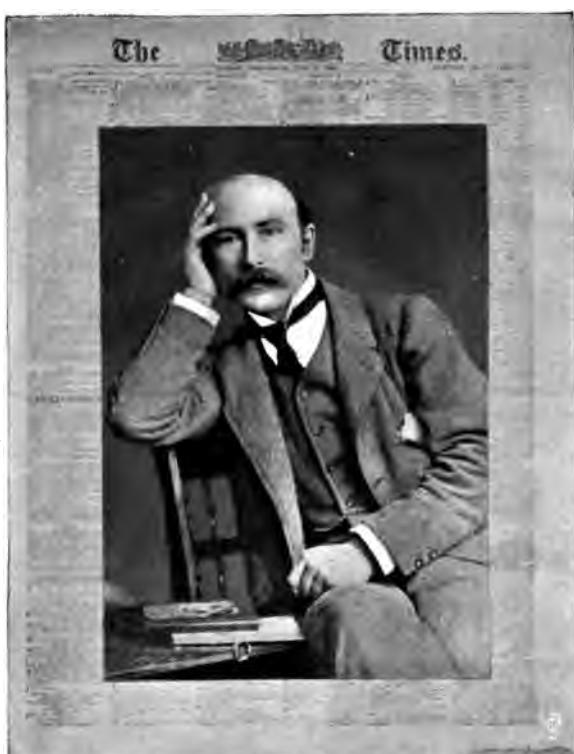
WITH the death of Chereny in 1884 this narrative reaches a period so near the present day that it ceases to be history and becomes merged in current politics. The work of *The Times* during the past twenty years can best be ascertained from the examination of its recent files. There the reader can discover the great share it had in defeating the policy of Home Rule, and awaking the country to a sense of the dangers of the Nationalist movement; how it has promoted imperial interests all over the world, pressed for a stronger Navy, a modern Army, a reformed War Office, a more scientific system of taxation. These matters must be left to the judgment of the future historian. Here it is only possible to note a few facts before bringing this sketch to a close. It is worth mentioning that of all the correspondents at work in the Boer War the only one left in Pretoria to witness the signature of the peace was the chief correspondent of *The Times*, and the description of that scene on the 1st of June 1902 was an effective conclusion to a long series of articles that included the first account published in England of the fight at Willow冈, an absorbing series of letters from Ladysmith in a week when the reader turned in vain to other newspapers for information of what was passing in the besieged city, and full descriptions of Stormberg and Paardeberg where the fragmentary information on these episodes until then available made the accounts particularly welcome to the public.

For many years to come the history of the Boer War must have a great interest for Englishmen than that of remoter events; yet the work of *The Times* correspondent at Peking in 1900 will form a valuable chapter in the history of the new Eastern world of which the end is not yet within view. The long care devoted by Lord Cromer to the interests of Egypt, the future of the cotton industry in the Sudan, the story of army organisation among the Fellahin, have also to be studied in the pages of *The Times* for adequate comprehension of the growth of that imperialism of which the spirit was evoked by Lord Beaconsfield, while the embodiment is one of the active processes which in every department of the British Empire may be seen at work in the political and industrial tendencies of the present day.

While the progress of political ideas has always received minute and studious attention from those in power at Printing House Square, their efforts have been no less patiently directed towards making intelligible the

forces at work in religion, in science, in law, in literature, and in industrial development.

The Law Reports of *The Times*, written by barristers of at least five years' standing, are daily evidence of the national significance of the paper, for some knowledge of law is now fully recognised as a duty by every well-educated Englishman, for the neglect of which no adequate excuse can be offered in a country the growth of whose institutions is inseparably bound up with the intricacies of common law, Chancery, and the law of the Constitution. The administrators of *The Times*, in realising twenty years ago that a consider-



MR. ARTHUR FRASER WALTER.

able proportion of *The Times* should be devoted to extended reports of cases, and in providing adequate equipment for the representation of their policy in this respect, have performed so unquestioned a service that the reader does not rely on any other source than *The Times* for a knowledge of proceedings in the leading trials of his day.

In the literary supplement published every Friday the reader has also a weekly criticism of the chief books, both English and foreign, which are published from day to day; and the practice of printing every day an excerpt from *The Times* in its earliest days is in itself a historical lesson to all who have learned the value of comparison. The contemporary history of music and of the drama forms also part of the paper.

Consecutive articles on special subjects by special writers are constantly published in *The Times*, and are frequently the nucleus of text-books on subjects in which the development is so rapid, and in which the terminology grows at so unmanageable a pace, that one is compelled to make constant reference to authorities for an efficient comprehension of what is being achieved. As examples of such articles, frequently published after their appearance in *The Times* as pamphlets, may be cited: 'Letters from Australia,' 'The Situation in Egypt,' 'Indian Affairs,' 'Explosions in Coal-Mines,' 'The West Indies,' 'The Problem of the Army,' Burdett's 'Practical Scheme for Old Age Pensions,' Benjamin Kidd's 'Control of the Tropics,' the more recent 'Municipal Socialism,' and the series on 'Agriculture' at



FRONT OF PRINTING HOUSE SQUARE, 1904.

present arousing attention. So closely associated are the functions of chronicling and making history at Printing House Square, that there are instances in which they coincide, as, for example, in the establishment and description of a Marconi service of wireless telegraphy from New York, and more recently of De Forrest's wireless service from Wei-hai-Wei, for the rapid transmission of news.

The expenses of supplying foreign intelligence to *The Times* were officially stated in the course of evidence given before the Select Committee on the Copyright Bill of 1898 to amount to £50,000 a year, and on the same occasion it was admitted that a single telegram in reference to a revolution in Argentina had cost £1200.

Among all the historical parallels presented in the pages of *The Times* within the last twenty years, none is richer in suggestion than the article

'The Centenary of *The Times*', published on the 2nd of January 1888. For the modern reader the passing of sixteen more years has heightened the interest of this subject. If the passenger on the first railway in England was stimulated, by an account in *The Times* of the War of Greek Independence, to fresh interest in the age of Pericles, it is equally true that the traveller, in this day of motor-cars, after reading in his *Times* the latest news from Japan, will experience no less active a curiosity about an Eastern civilisation still earlier than that of ancient Greece; and if any excuse is needed for the narrative given in these pages, it will be found in the conviction that the study of the past must be approached through a living interest in the present.

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